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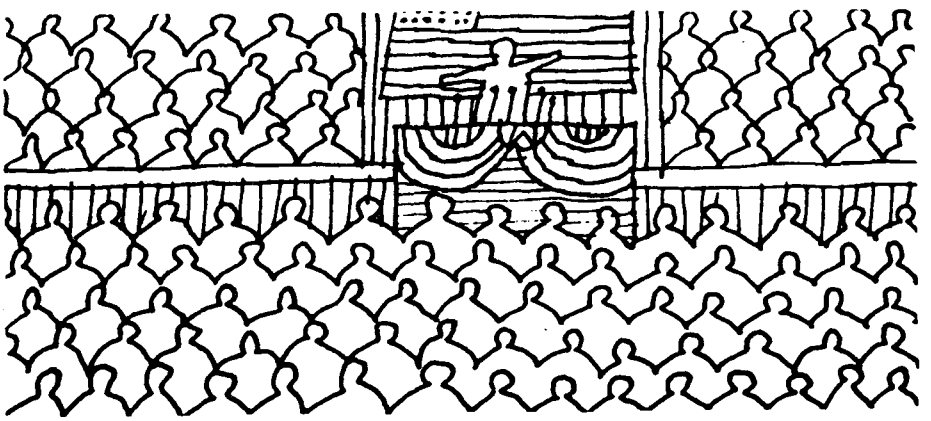
THE PRUNING OF THE PRESIDENCY



Ask not who can do more . . . but less

WES BARTHELMES

THE MINISTER AS PHARISEE
JOHN T. PAWLIKOWSKI

FLIGHT TO SUBURBIA, INC.
GILBERT J. BLACK

ROOTS OF THE COLD WAR
RICHARD H. MILLER

AN OLD MAN FOR ALL SEASONS
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

MAN OF THE YEAR
PETER STEINFELS

WIND: a poem
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NEWS & VIEWS

Bishops, Latin-Style

Some statements of a young Amazon bishop consecrated last October are jolting Brazilian public opinion.

Bishop Pedro Casaldalinga, a native Spaniard, presides over the Diocese of Sao Felix in Brazil's Mato Grosso region, the domain of large cattle-raising companies. His latest thunderbolt: a 125-page pastoral letter which accuses the cattle barons of reducing their seasonal workers to "slavery," and of despoiling the holdings and even murdering some small landowners.

"Injustice in this country has a name," wrote Dom Casaldalinga: "the large estate."

The Brazilian Bishops' Conference, departing from its traditional reserve, published the pastoral officially. But the silence of Brazil's ranking prelate, Cardinal Sales, has been a source of wonderment.

Cardinal Sales maintains intimate contact with the government, and recently sat down with Minister of Justice Buzaid for an hour-long conference. Afterwards, he was asked by newsmen if he discussed the charges of the pastoral with the Minister. The Cardinal responded: "We ought to have spoken about that affair . . . but we forgot."

Further down the Latin American continent, additional bishops figured in major controversies.

The Bishop of Goya, Argentina, Dom Alberto Devoto, raised eyebrows by commenting that "socialist economic structures are more Christian, more in agreement to the Gospel than capitalism." He then upset political officialdom by pointing to Chile as the model socialist regime.

At the same time, the Bishop of La Rioja, Enrique Angelelli, pressed his radio attacks on public officials for their social deficiencies. When Bishop Angelelli refused to tone down his talks, his radio time was canceled. This provoked another controversy about oppression and censorship.

But not all the controversy swirling around Argentinian bishops was, in the eyes of the church establishment, so socially satisfying, for attention continued to focus embarrassingly on the former Bishop of Avellaneda, Jeronimo Podesta.

Bishop Podesta was removed from his bishopric four years ago, ostensibly because of his progressive stance on labor issues. As the old year neared its end, Bishop Podesta affirmed publicly his love for a woman, and spoke out in favor of a new model of male-female relationship within the church —what he called the "priestly couple."

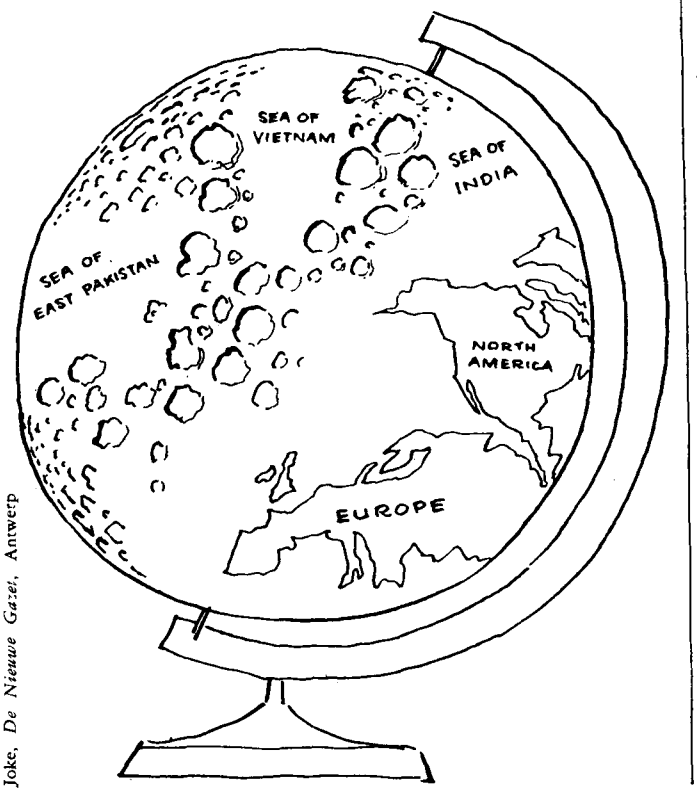
The woman referred to by the bishop is his former secretary in Avallaneda. They recently visited Rome together, leading to speculation throughout Latin America that the bishop had asked the Vatican to laicize him. Bishop Podesta denied this upon returning to Argentina.

Australia's Post-Mortem

Australia closed out its fighting role in Vietnam with 500 lives lost, 3,500 men permanently disabled, and no bipartisanship agreement among political leaders on what, if anything, was gained for either the Vietnamese or Australia.

The government continues to justify Australia's involvement in Vietnam morally and strategically, writes Geoffrey Tebbutt in the *Manchester Guardian*, but the consensus believes that Vietnam was "an unparalleled disaster."

"Ostensibly, Australia fought the war to help to preserve an anti-Communist government in Saigon," says Tebbutt. "But, as the Pentagon Papers showed, the Vietnamese had little to do with the Australian intervention. Sir Robert Menzies and his successors—especially Harold Holt—thought it prudent for the future of the American alliance to stand firmly and militarily beside President Johnson when he desperately needed allies."



Joke, *De Nieuwe Gazet*, Antwerp

Thus did Australia get sucked into the Vietnam vortex.

It took eight years to struggle out of it, but the last Australian combat troops were home for Christmas, as promised.

There's some lingering nervousness, however, as Australia's military break with Indochina is not absolute. A 150-man Australian Army "assistance group" (the Australians have been sucked also into the semantics vortex) remains behind to train South Vietnamese and Cambodian troops.

Georgetown Game Plan

Georgetown University again this year is pressing its students into the money breach—as fund-raisers.

Students visit alumni who have cooled off on the campus generation and for this or other reasons stopped giving to the university. The visits are made during the recess between semesters.

The program was launched last year with mixed, but promising, results. Some alumni refused to meet with students, but of those who did, about one-third renewed contributing.

Odds and Ends

—Another Berrigan book is due in early spring: *Daniel Berrigan and Contemporary Protest Poetry*, by Harry J. Cargas. Publisher: College and University Press, New Haven.

—No doubt you noticed that President Nixon's pass play to Coach Don Shula of the Miami football team was a "down-and-in pattern," not down-and-*out*.

—David Packard, recently retired Deputy Secretary of Defense, was asked before leaving Washington to comment on the proposition that the ABM's reaction time is so brief it must be fired without a Presidential decision. Packard: "That's a matter I don't care to talk about."

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Erratum

Oxford, England

To the Editors: Our review article on aid and development [Nov. 5, p. 138] contains a typographical error which alters the meaning of a fairly important part of our argument. In our third paragraph we state that Denis Goulet commends the Pakistan Perspective Plan "for its 'realism' in projecting only modest increases in overall consumption levels of wealthy industrial nations." Evidently a line was dropped from our copy which referred to "projecting modest increases in overall consumption levels by 1985 and for avoiding dreams of aping the consumption levels of wealthy industrialized nations." Obviously we were referring to consumption levels in *Pakistan* as set out in the Pakistan Perspective Plan. The sentence as published implies that Pakistani planners were planning consumption levels in other countries besides their own—which makes no sense. . . .

TIMOTHY and LESLIE NULTY

Supporting the War

Rego Park, N.Y.

To the Editors: Father Kelly's article ["The New Roman Church: A Modest Proposal, Dec. 3] is remarkable for its calm clarity and exquisite balance in judging Catholics as individuals but also—and especially—the church as an institution. He is a far cry from the shrillness that has infected even *Commonweal* on issues like the church and the Vietnam war.

However, I find it difficult to reconcile his statement about "the grosser failures of the church toward the world, as the lack of a timely prophetic judgment against the war in Asia" with his later judgment that "it is no longer possible for the church to give directly concrete prescriptions regarding detailed economic organization, the actual direction of culture . . . and

(Continued on page 383)

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WHAT NEW ATROCITY?

The renewed bombing of North Vietnam, along with the beefed-up bombardment of Laos and Cambodia, makes it tragically clear that the nation has not reached a new level of moral consciousness with regard to this war. The President's willingness to celebrate Christmas while ordering 1000 air strikes—including ghastly anti-personnel bombs that kill and maim soldiers and civilians alike—is proof that this war's essential immorality has not been faced. The President has assumed that the American people do not care what we do to Asians, just so most of our men come home.

In many ways, we are back where we were in 1964 when, to avenge one bullet hole in the *Maddox*—and buck up the wobbly morale of the South Vietnamese "leadership"—we first carried the war to the North. Americans including now-silent students, who have been mollified by the troop withdrawals and lower draft calls, will have to be re-educated to this new, less immediate dimension of the war's wrongness.

Symbolically, the bombing sums up many of the most terrible things about the government's policy. It indulges our capacity to deal in abstractions, to pretend that there is some proportion between these raids on the North and the "violations" in the South, to imagine that because the designated targets are supply depots and airfields we can just disregard the human casualties. The bombing is inspired, above all, by frustration. The Administration knows that its policy is failing and is lashing back with violence. As both James Reston and Rep. Paul McCloskey have said, the President who backed the losing side in the India-Pakistan war is taking it out on the North Vietnamese. As the Pentagon Papers made clear, bombing doesn't work. As history has demonstrated, bombing does not break the spirit of a suffering people. It hardens their will to resist, while the blatant abuse of overwhelming technological power inevitably corrupts the heart of the nation that wields it so irresponsibly. What sensitive American does not look back on the ruins of Dresden and Hiroshima with shame? What new atrocity will be obvious enough to convince the American public that they are the silent witnesses to an international crime? Meanwhile, truth dies too. The families of the pilots shot down and captured will be told that these raids are to "save American lives" and protect the prisoners of war.

It is significant that four of the candidates who have condemned this war on moral grounds—McGovern, Kennedy, McCarthy and now Muskie

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—are men moved by religious convictions. If only our religious leaders, including the American bishops who in November conceded that "whatever good we hope to achieve through continued involvement in this war is now outweighed by the destruction of human life and values it inflicts," could boldly tell the Administration that the church cannot tolerate this policy of destruction. Or, if we can tolerate it, the religious leaders should explain why.

ADDITION TO THE STAFF

Commonweal's new assistant editor is Raymond A. Schroth. A faculty member at Fordham University, where he teaches journalism and American Studies, he has been writing for the Catholic press, including *Commonweal,* for over fifteen years. He is also a Jesuit priest, the first priest on *Commonweal*'s staff. We mention this not to call attention to him or to his priesthood but as one more sign of how much barriers have broken down within the brotherhood of the church in this generation. When this review was founded in 1924 it made sense, in order to guarantee its independence and establish its unique identity, for its editors to be Catholic laymen. Restricted by ecclesiastical authority and censorship regulations, type-cast as an authority figure and a member of the clerical class, yesterday's priest was not free to function as an independent journalist. Today, when the priesthood does not exclude a man from teaching in secular universities, from serving in Congress or as vice-chancellor of the City University of New York, it should not exclude him from *Commonweal*'s editorial staff. *Commonweal*'s role remains as it has been: with an independent liberal spirit it will apply the message of the Gospel to the social, political, religious and cultural problems of the world. In welcoming a priest to join our effort in this struggle we are faithful to our deepest traditions—including our willingness to change.

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REVERSE COMMUTING

FLIGHT TO SUBURBIA, INC.

New Canaan, in Fairfield County, Connecticut, is the essence of Exurbia. It is the home of artists and writers, radio and television personalities and corporate chief executives. Fanning out from a movie-set shopping district built around the railroad station, it thins quickly to wooded estates and large tracts of near wilderness. Its school system is superb and uncrowded. In an effort to keep it that way, and to keep property taxes low for affluent homeowners, New Canaan does what many suburban and exurban communities do. It restricts new houses to large lots, allowing for few houses, and even fewer children. And it seeks to attract corporate headquarters to the larger open spaces. RCA announced in 1971 that it had purchased the Hoyt Nursery property of 250 acres for a corporate headquarters.

Corporations are attracted to towns like New Canaan for obvious reasons. They seek low property taxes. Their chief executives are tired of the long commute to the city. The result of a corporate relocation to the suburbs is usually a short commute for top executives, and a long reverse commute for employees, mostly by private car since most corporations don't even consider locating near rail or bus lines. A study reported by the *New York Times* in early 1971 showed that 80 percent of executive-level employees stayed with their companies after a corporate move from the city to the suburbs, while as much as 80 percent of non-executives did not. For minority employees, the result is often loss of their job. And implications for the future are that bankrupt center cities will be populated with unemployed blacks and browns, while the suburbs roll along in lily-white affluence, with plenty of work for all who can fight the traffic jams.

In an effort to slow and to rationalize the corporate flight to the suburbs, several advocate organizations have been formed across the country. Typical of these is Suburban Action Institute, of White Plains, N.Y., founded in 1969 to focus public attention on the role of the suburbs in solving metropolitan problems of race and poverty. Suburban Action Institute is suing New Canaan on behalf of 15 black and Puerto Rican families, charging the town with racial and economic discrimination, and demanding that the town's zoning regulations be overturned, with at least five sites set aside for low- and moderate-income housing.

Of New Canaan's 18,000 residents, only 2.2 percent are black; of its residential area, 81 percent is zoned for lots of two or more acres, another 11.5 percent is zoned for one to two acres, and 3.4 percent is zoned for one-quarter to one acre.

Because of Radio Corporation of America's planned headquarters move to New Canaan, the Institute lodged a complaint of racial discrimination with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The Institute asserts that by relocating in New Canaan, RCA is fleeing to a white oasis from New York City and Camden, N.J., two areas with heavy black and Puerto Rican populations. As a result of the Institute's action, RCA officials have withdrawn their application for a zoning change in New Canaan, "pending further studies." A

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company spokesman declares that a consultant is now conducting studies on the possibility of building housing in New Canaan. Information brought back by the consultant indicates that middle-income housing is not feasible in New Canaan because of zoning laws and resulting high building costs.

Suburban Action Institute has also brought action against the General Electric Company, which plans to build a corporate office headquarters in Fairfield, Connecticut. Paul Davidoff, director of Suburban Action Institute, describes Fairfield and New Canaan as "exclusionary" communities. Fairfield has only 371 blacks and virtually no Spanish-speaking people in its population of over 56,000. Only 38 of 4,900 vacant acres are zoned for multi-family housing. Most of the rest are zoned for single-family detached houses, on lots of one or two acres minimum. "The result," Davidoff says, "is that the average sale price of a house in Fairfield today is well over $50,000, and new housing begins at around $37,500. Unless a family has an income of $19,000 to $25,000 it can't find housing there."

GE denies that it is discriminating against its own minority employees. Says a GE spokesman, "We have made it clear to SAI that the availability of a variety of housing was carefully examined, and we are convinced that adequate housing is available within reasonable commuting range." The variety of housing in the nearby Greater Bridgeport area is cited by GE as a factor in choosing Fairfield. But Bridgeport itself is suffering from a severe shortage of decent housing.

The company claims it is unreal to suggest that all employees who would work at Fairfield must live there. "A few of those who work in our present Manhattan headquarters, and who would transfer to Fairfield, live in Manhattan, but most don't. Most are accustomed to commuting long distances to their offices." What the company doesn't point out is that the Manhattan offices are accessible to some 13 million people by mass transportation. The new headquarters, on the Merritt Parkway, would be accessible only to those who can afford to use a car each day as a means of getting to and from work.

What Davidoff refers to as "exclusionary" zoning ordinances may be quite vulnerable to court action. A pattern of cases is now developing. A suit similar to Suburban Action's against the town of New Canaan was settled in favor of the plaintiffs earlier in 1971. A local zoning ordinance in Glassboro, New Jersey, designed frankly to limit bedrooms and exclude children from new apartments, was struck down by Judge W. Orvyl Schalick of the Superior Court for Gloucester County. Judge Schalick said, "Governmental cost must be an official concern, but not to an extent that it determines who shall live in the municipality . . . Exclusionary zoning may lead to illegal and unwarranted conditions violative of individual rights. No municipality can isolate itself from the difficulties which are prevalent in all segments of society. When general interest is paramount to the limited interest of the municipality, the municipality cannot create roadblocks."

Similarly, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court struck down in 1970 a zoning ordinance of Nether Providence Township, in suburban Philadelphia, saying "The failure of the township to provide for apartments anywhere in the township must be viewed as the legal equivalent of an explicit total prohibition of apartment houses in the zoning ordinance. In refusing, the township in effect decided to zone *out* the people who would live in the township if the apartments were available. A zoning ordinance whose primary purpose is to prevent the entrance of newcomers in order to avoid future burdens, economic and otherwise, upon the administration of public services and facilities cannot be held valid."

Suburban Action Institute's two-pronged attack on exclusionary zoning is getting at a part of a larger problem: economic and racial segregation in metropolitan areas. Individuals and corporations try to get away from city problems, especially taxes, crime and integrated housing. The result, says Paul Davidoff, is that a good portion of land available for development is closed to 90 percent of the people, black or white. Regulations which restrict land use to predominantly single-family housing on large lots create segregation based on income. Suburban Action Institute claims this has resulted in *de jure* segregation, since it is promoted and maintained by local laws.

Davidoff believes that the recent California Supreme Court decision, questioning the constitutionality of local property taxes as a way of financing education, is bound to have an effect on suburban building patterns. "If schools were financed by a statewide tax, much resistance to growth might be changed, since communities could no longer reject growth out of economic self-interest," he says. "The problem of the local property tax is that, as they see it, local residents in suburban communities have to pay for the new family that doesn't pay enough in taxes to send its kids to school." In the town of North Castle, in Westchester County, N.Y., the League of Women Voters found that $54,000 was the break-even point for a property to "pay its own way." Suburbanites consider the family that can't afford that kind of house to be a welfare case.

"The really crucial issue," says Davidoff, "is the failure of corporations to act on behalf of their employees. As soon as corporations are blocked from leaving the city, we think they will join with Suburban Action and other groups in the nation to see that the suburbs do open up."

GILBERT J. BLACK

(Gilbert J. Black is a free-lance writer specializing in business, education and social topics. He lives in White Plains, N.Y.)

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MAN OF THE YEAR

PETER STEINFELS

IT IS ALMOST impossible for a liberal to assess President Nixon's performance fairly. The blood feud is too long. Besides, you don't have to be liberal to loathe Richard M. Nixon. There is something about his personality, as though he had learned to live by reading an instruction manual, that even the apolitical find repugnant. *The Selling of the President* was a popular book not, I believe, because it was really clear that Nixon had been "sold"—it wasn't—but because the book provided a metaphor which jibed with so many people's sense of the man: he was a *product,* the kind of figure who had to be sold, the creation of a marketing committee. There was, it is true, an old Nixon just like there was an old Lyndon Johnson whom no marketing committee would ever have thought to create. But Nixon, new, newer, and newest, has submitted to the process in a way Johnson, despite what sometimes seemed his own best efforts to be nixonized, never could.

That President Nixon has no charisma is one thing, and probably just as well: democracies which are kept running on charisma are like people who keep going on pep pills. That President Nixon so often appears to have no personality is something else; one does wonder, uneasily, exactly what is there.

But an assessment of the Nixon presidency must finally get beyond old hates and even beyond the question of personality; for all the critical importance of the latter, inevitably the facts of personality are damnably hard to establish and even harder to relate to political performance. Nixon, cautious and regularized to the point of computerization in his personal conduct, has for instance taken three exceptional initiatives, in the areas of income maintenance, China policy, and economic planning.

There are two things to be said about these initiatives. The first is that it seems doubtful Hubert Humphrey would have taken any of them. The income maintenance idea got its momentum under Johnson, of course, at least in very limited circles. But no major Democratic leader was backing welfare reform when Nixon sprang his proposal. Surveys in 1967 and 1969 showed little understanding and virtually no support for income maintenance among legislators. A Humphrey proposal would have faced demagogic G.O.P. opposition; I suspect that on this issue a Democrat in the White House would have stuck to milder, more traditional (and some would argue better) New Deal approaches. The same prospect of Republican demagoguery would have frightened off a Democratic initiative on China. (Again, some would argue that less dramatic step might be more effective anyway.) As for economic controls, Nixon acted under Democratic prodding; when he did act, however, he went further than any Democratic spokesmen had suggested. A Humphrey, under trade-union pressure, might have given us a little different mix of unemployment (less) and inflation (more); but if the Democrats had any radically different economic "gameplan"—instead of merely a few changed plays—it has been a well-kept secret.

The second thing to be said about Nixon's initiatives is that having put major changes on the agenda he has been unable to follow through. The wage-price controls, especially now that one of their most dedicated critics heads the President's economic advisors, look more and more like elaborate psychological pump-priming, destined only to inject the economy, and the electorate, with confidence during 1972. A year from now, the rodent inflation will be gnawing away as before. In Asia relations with Japan are dangerously strained; those with India are best left unmentioned. The President's trip to Peking is being financed diplomatically on a strictly pay-before-you-go basis. The welfare reform initiative has been sacrificed to the economic initiative; it now hangs suspended in the unfriendly atmosphere of Russell Long's committee.

On both welfare and the economy, Mr. Nixon was well placed, i.e. to the right, to neutralize some of the opposiiton which might have intimidated a Democrat; but for the same reason he is unable to carry through, forced to placate his friends while depending on the votes of his enemies.

Nixon's fundamental project, although decidedly a questionable one, has been in "cooling" America. Despite serious setbacks, particularly at the moment of Cambodia-Kent, he has succeeded remarkably well, as Humphrey, I believe, would not have. He has done this by alternately manipulating and cowing the media; by incessantly, almost obsessively, flattering and reassuring the nation; by playing, sometimes with the assistance of his apprentice, Mr. Agnew, on the nastier warps of the American character, as in the cases of Calley, bussing, prisoners of war, welfare "deadbeats" and student bums; and by capping off the structure which has protected dissent with a dependably conservative Supreme Court.

The bombs continue to fall in Asia, racial minorities and the poor are losing their gains of the Johnson years —and I retain my residue of doubt whether both these conditions would really be different under Humphrey-Muskie—but in the ghettos and on the campuses, and even in Vietnam, things are *quieter.* Nixon's record is both disturbing and yet remarkable. I can only echo the sentiment of Robert Lekachman in the current issue of *The New Leader:* "Abundantly as I think he deserves to lose, it is not at all clear whether on their present form the Democrats deserve to win."

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THE PRUNING OF THE PRESIDENCY

WES BARTHELMES

Ask not who can do more, but less

It may be premature to transfer the Congress from the political scientists to the cultural anthropologists for study, but our national legislature may be considered a marginal political institution, vulnerable to a final sacking by an American Cromwell. Worse still, few of its 535 members acknowledge, much less understand, the weakened congressional condition. Alarmed members are mostly those on the Senate Foreign Relations and Appropriations Committees, because it is in these areas that the greatest enfeeblement of congressional authority has taken place.

The historical explanations for the flow of power from the Capitol to the White House are many. The history of the presidency itself is marked by a sporadic gathering-in of power by successive occupants. But, until modern times, there were also intervals of congressional reassertions and passive presidencies. No longer. The trend now moves without interruption, in part, because the nation has been on a war-footing for the last 30 years —with no end in sight. Along the way there has occurred both an intellectual and programmatic confusion between the roles of the President as Chief Executive and as Commander-in-Chief. Our Prince Metternich, Henry Kissinger, and his predecessors as Chief Councillor-of-State under Democratic administrations take the view that only the presidency is able properly to determine and execute foreign policy—and to this end, Congress as an institution is an impediment. Presidential historians such as Corwin and Neustadt have cultivated an atmosphere of public approval for the "heroic" presidency.

Amid continual politics of crisis, the Congress, in diverse moods, has acquiesced in making ill-advised grants of authority to demanding Presidents. Sometimes stampeded, sometimes misled and lied to, sometimes slothful in respect to its Constitutionally assigned obligations, the Congress has compiled for history a case study in institutional self-destruction. There is no persuasive argument that the Congress has been an unwilling victim of presidential depredations. Conversely, it has invited presidential domination in large part by acquiescing to (a) an autonomous committee system, (b) a system of promotion to leadership positions that lacks accountability, and (c) a grossly inadequate, even obsolete, system of information-gathering for legislative purposes. When ravaged, it has seldom fought back.

Members of Congress have only themselves to blame for the crumbling oedipus which they occupy. Few have cared and an example has been set for them by congressional leaders who don't lead, particularly those in the House of Representatives. As for the Senate, under the self-deception of exercising extended debate, it exists as a sort of cave-of-the-winds and seldom legislates outside the frozen formats established for domestic legislation by the New Deal.

Restoration of the federal system of checks-and-balances would be the most worthy undertaking for the American Bicentennial Commission. Lord Acton, where are you? The Congress, for better or for worse, is the only one we have and it is time to make amends before the monarchial tendencies of the White House multiply.

The potential is there. Paradoxically, the number of able men and women in the Congress is greater than ever—numbered not by the fingers-of-the-hand but by the dozens—yet the whole adds up to less than the sum of the parts. In addition, a promising historical situation

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exists. The theory of presidential sagacity and dominance may be floundering on the shoals of Vietnam—and, lately, as a result of the India-Pakistan imbroglio. This should be exploited.

There are slender beginnings. Two Supreme Court nominations of President Nixon have been rejected. Within the last two years, the Senate has successfully instigated marginal restraints upon the President's freedom-of-action in Indochina—the Church-Cooper amendments being the foremost. Arsenal diplomacy, as exhibited through the foreign aid program, received a setback in late October when the Senate defeated the omnibus bill for military and economic aid. But it will also require restraints, self-imposed, on the part of Presidents in recognition of the Constitutionally assigned roles for the Congress in respect to domestic and foreign-policy making.

Perhaps, it is too much to expect of candidates to make such a public recognition now that the presidential rutting season is engulfing us—ten wordy months prior to Election Day. The sitting President has demonstrably refused to acknowledge the Constitutional role of the Congress. And the Democratic candidates, humming "Hail to the Chief," are neither volunteering their views, nor being asked.

'The Sunday Senate'

The psephological specialists continue to confuse election statistics with substantive politics. "The Sunday Senate," that aggregation of network interview shows, focus on This One as a front-running candidate for the Democrats and That One as a "dark horse" for the Republican nomination. Ad-hominem questions dominate the question period in the context of an assumption that, of course, it is obligatory upon the next President to do more than his predecessor. Is it crankish to suggest that we all might be better off if each presidential candidate promised, if elected, to do less—or, at least, do whatever he wishes to do in full and advance consultation with the Congress?

One wonders, matching hope against experience, whether improvements can be forced upon the traditional pattern of presidential campaigns, unsavorily expensive ones of low comedy, mass rowdyism, and occasional high drama. Is it not legitimate to ask the candidates as to whether each adheres to the cult of the presidency, Rossiter's "compelling focus of power, prestige and patronage." One contrasts today's imperial trappings at the White House with Franklin Pierce's fumblings in the darkness at the White House after his Inauguration and eventually his finding a mattress on the floor upon which to spend his first night as President.

The chaplains and intellectual Mandarins of American Empire continue as Privy Councillors to Presidents who drape around them the cloak of presidential immunity from questioning congressional committees. Are the candidates for President willing to relent in this practice? If so, it would be instructive to see the Rev. Billy Graham giving witness before a Senate Committee on Godliness as to his fitness to be a presidential advisor.

The grotesqueries of the 1968 presidential campaign seem to have been forgotten. All shades of political opinion insist on finding someone upon whom to shift the insupportable burden of resolving the issues afflicting our nation. The Right seeks its Bismarck; the Muddled Middle, its Nice Guy; the Left, its Frank Merriwell of social change. The sobering lesson of the Decade of Assassinations seems forgotten.

More profitably than building cults of personality—competent candidates are not necessarily effective Presidents—reporters of tube and typewriter could help nurse American politics to health if they pose new questions to presidential contenders. One question relates to a President's rendering unto the Congress the things that are the Congress's. Recent Presidents have consistently refused to do so. Two examples underscore this unwillingness.

One involves the practice of executive impoundment of congressionally appropriated funds, which, at last report, totaled $11.8 billion. This practice, exercised by both Democratic and Republican Presidents, strikes at the most important power of the Congress—the power of the purse, the power to decide to spend, or not spend public funds. There are instances when a President is not obliged to spend such funds as when a program costs less than the appropriated amount. The Congress acknowledges such legitimate and commonsense withholdings. But most of the impounded funding is the result of a succession of Presidents deciding for insufficient reasons not to fund programs that Congress has ordained are to be funded. It's a Congress-be-damned attitude. Congress seldom has tried to correct this presidential purse-snatching, although in December the Senate stipulated that some of these funds, assigned for domestic programs, be released. The House has yet to give its concurrence.

War-Making Powers

The second example relates to the war-making powers under the Constitution. The specific bill was that of a $21.3 billion military procurement measure for fiscal 1972. As the bill moved through the Congress, there was added an amendment offered by the Senate Majority Leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana. The amendment declared it to be "the policy of the United States to terminate at the earliest practicable date all military operations of the United States in Indochina, and to provide for the prompt and orderly withdrawal of all United States military forces at a date certain, subject to the release of all American prisoners-of-war. . . ." Dur-

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ing a discussion of the amendment in its final form, Senator Stennis, chairman of the Armed Services Committee and floor manager of the bill, said on November 11 that if the bill, to which the Mansfield amendment was attached, became law then "As a policy matter, it binds the Congress and the President of the United States."

Six days later, the President did sign the bill (and the Mansfield amendment) into law. But the President said he would not obey the amendment because it "does not represent the policies of this Administration . . . it is without binding force or effect. . . ." Nixon's defiance was not challenged by the Senate, although a back-stage effort to mount a counterattack was undertaken and then fell apart. Nevertheless, the Mansfield amendment is now part of the law and, as such, is not subject to dismissal by the President.

Each contender in the grand competition for the presidency should be asked what his attitude would be if he found himself living in the White House. Would he continue to exercise unchecked presidential discretion over public spending? Would he continue to order our military forces into action and, in opposition to congressional intent, keep them there?

Probing further, there are questions to be asked about the infringement of rights of private citizens by government surveillance, the mania for stamping as "Secret" every scrap of paper in the drawers and files of Executive Branch departments, and the consistent refusal of Presidents to provide the Congress with information about long-range foreign military assistance plans.

These are more useful fields of inquiry than questions about whether a candidate will carry California or to whom he'll offer the Vice Presidency. Otherwise, we again court disappointment and a compounded disequilibrium of national political institutions when we express interest in *what* a candidate will do, but not *how* he plans to do it.

We need not heroics in our next President, but simply the competent toil of an accessible, fair-dealing, plain-speaking President willing to share his burdens—and glory—with the Congress and the people.

THE MINISTER AS PHARISEE

John T. Pawlikowski

Coming to grips with the spirit of ministry in the early church

This past summer I spent several days carefully reading through the transcripts of the American bishops' discussion on the meaning of priesthood at their Spring 1971 meeting which were released through the Association of Chicago Priests. What came through loud and clear from the bishops' discussion was the general lack of any accurate understanding of the revolution in the conception and practice of ministry on the part of Jesus and the early church. It would be unjust to fault the bishops alone for this deficiency which in fact is characteristic of the church at large. This regrettable situation has its roots in the almost total disregard of the inter-testamental period in Judaism by Christian scholars and teachers. With the advent of the biblical movement and especially since Vatican II Catholics have taken a new interest in the Hebrew bible. This is well and good. But the Judaism of the Hebrew bible does not correspond in many important ways to the Judaism that underpins the New Testament and without which much of New Testament teaching cannot be interpreted in an accurate fashion. This is certainly the case with the bases for the New Testament approach to ministry.

At the outset I want to make it clear that I am in no sense advocating a false type of biblicism that would say we can solve the present crisis in ministry or any contemporary religious problem by a mere reinstitution of biblical practices. But insofar as we claim to be in continuity with a specific religious tradition, the origins of that tradition must to some extent influence our current manner of religious living. Up to this time we have seen only a minimal amount of scholarship on the question of ministry in the early church. Most of the studies have focused on the meaning of such terms as presbyter, bishop, deacon, etc. Their end result has been a measure of clarity about the various ministerial offices in the apostolic period. They have failed in the main, however, to come to grips with the spirit of ministry in the early church, especially the ministry of Jesus. It is this spirit which when rightly understood can make a singularly important contribution to the revitalization of ordained ministry in contemporary Christianity.

From my study of inter-testamental Judaism and its influence upon the early church it has become apparent to me that ministry was viewed by Jesus and his orignial

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followers very much along the lines developed by the Pharisaic movement in Judaism. This simple statement may immediately raise a few eyebrows among Christians since the Pharisees have usually been painted as the archenemies of Jesus in the gospels. Recent research by both Christian and Jewish scholars has exposed the utter shallowness of any such match-up.

While the relationship between Jesus and his opposition in the synoptic gospels, among whom a group called "the Pharisees" stand out very prominently, has not yet been fully explained by biblical scholars, the realization has firmly emerged that the Pharisaic movement on the whole constituted a dynamic, new force that permanently transformed Judaism and left a strong imprint on the early Christian church as well. The Jewish historian Ellis Rivkin has gone so far as to term the Pharisaic contribution a "revolution." Its power and influence touched almost every aspect of Jewish life, from liturgy to political structures to theological conceptions of God and the afterlife of ethics. It is not possible here to detail the full range of innovations in religious understanding introduced by the Pharisees nor to treat the complicated problem of their overall connection with Jesus. For such background material I would refer the reader to my article in the Fall 1970 *Cross Currents* entitled "On Renewing the Revolution of the Pharisees: A New Approach to the Theology of Politics." In this essay one will also find a bibliography of most of the recent works on the Pharisaic period by Christian and Jewish scholars. Here I will concentrate on one aspect of the Pharisaic revolution—the development of the rabbinate.

A central part of the Pharisaic transformation of Judaism was the gradual emergence of a new religious figure in Judaism. He served neither as prophet nor priest. Originally termed a scribe, later a rabbi, he was seriously challenged and rebuffed by the priests, even though he never directly challenged their biblical prerogatives. The rabbi had the responsibility of interpreting, and more importantly, specifying the religious obligations incumbent upon members of the Jewish community. He had to translate the generalized commands and exhortations of the Pentateuch and the Prophets into concrete directives that would meet the needs of Jewish society in his own time. He had to tell the Jewish farmer, for example, that one-sixtieth of his field was the minimum he could leave the poor and still consider himself a faithful Jew.

The crucial aspect of the rabbinate that needs to be understood clearly in the context of the contemporary discussion on ministry is that the rabbi was not a cultic figure. His role was one of instruction and interpretation. But such instruction and interpretation was not limited to the study room of the synagogue. We tend to conceive of a rabbi as a scholarly, academic type who pores over his ancient manuscripts locked up in his study, rather immune to the everyday happenings of the world. In point of fact the rabbi had to combine his teaching and study of the Torah in the synagogue with concrete acts of mercy and healing among his people. In some cases he personally participated in changing the religio-political structures in his society. The criterion for judging a good rabbi included more than the capability of offering well-founded and sophisticated interpretations of the written Torah and demonstrating skill in synagogal debates. The ultimate test of the validity and correctness of his views according to Jewish tradition came in the field. Did he show mercy, did he heal the sick, did he bring about a more humane social order in the community? In short, did he have an "existential" as well as an academic knowledge of the Torah? These were the primary measuring rods for the rabbinate, along with intelligence, put forward in the Talmud.

What is significant here is that a non-cultic figure whose chief responsibility lay in the area of devising concrete plans for meeting the human needs of his time

and in being an activist executor of these plans gradually replaced the priest as the chief human symbol and representative of Jewish religious commitment. For the first time the expanded Exodus notion of religion which made social responsibility as integral to any authentic definition of religion as cult received concrete, symbolic expression. Someone other than a cultic figure had become the widely accepted community symbol of God's presence among his people. In short, in the Pharisaic revolution the newly created notion of ordained ministry, as developed in the rabbinate, clearly attained an importance in the life of the people of God that surpassed that of the levitical priesthood.

The word "ordained" here is very significant. While the Pharisees in continuity with Jewish tradition certainly recognized that each and every Jew had an obligation to show mercy, strive for justice, help those in need, etc., they saw the necessity of having the community select, to "ordain," special leaders who would continually remind the people at large of this general obligation by their teaching as well as by their own concrete actions. A man did not simply decide on his own to become a rabbi. He had to be accepted and proclaimed a rabbi by the community. And this occurred only after he had demon-

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strated his knowledge and commitment both in the synagogue and in the market place.

This is an especially important point to keep in mind in view of some recent contentions by Christians that there is no need for a distinct, public ministerial office in the church. The line of argument here is based on the theory that all Christians are called to be ministers by their baptism and confirmation. While in a limiting theoretical way this concept is correct, it falls into a false idealism. The Pharisees understood that all Jews in their day had been called to such a commitment in virtue of their incorporation into the covenantal people Israel. Yet they were realistic enough to recognize that a great many people would fail in their covenantal responsibility and therefore there was continual need for persons who would dedicate themselves in a special and publicly recognized way to the ministry. If the time ever came when all Jews fulfilled their responsibility in a perfect fashion then perhaps the need for the rabbinate would cease. But such a day was as far removed from reality in their day as it is within the Christian community of our own time.

It was this new form of ordained ministry, the Pharisaic rabbinate, that formed the basis of Jesus' vision of ministerial service in the New Testament. Jesus is explicitly given the title "rabbi" by his followers. And his whole active ministry fits very well into the rabbinic pattern of his time. He offered interpretations of the written Torah and he attested to his "existential" knowledge of the Scriptures through his works of mercy and healing. In so doing he met all the important criteria set down for members of the rabbinate. The only cultic action at which he presided in the gospel accounts was the Last Supper. And even here his role is that of a head of a Pharisaic brotherhood rather than that of priest in the sense in which priesthood was understood in his own day.

This is not to say that Jesus was anti-liturgical and expressly anti-priestly. Together with the Pharisees he had a great devotion to the value of prayer and worship and he probably went along with the general Pharisaic view which acknowledged that the priests possessed certain special ritual obligations and privileges. But he joined with the Pharisees in affirming the primacy of public ministry over cultic priesthood in the everyday life of the church. This seems to me to be an indisputable conclusion when one carefully reads the New Testament with a solid understanding of the ethos of the intertestamental Judaism that permeates and undergirds so much of the gospels.

This switch in priorities vis-à-vis ordained priesthood and ordained ministry is the single most important principle to emerge from a study of ministry in the New Testament. To my way of thinking, it is the one capable of making the greatest contribution to the current discussions on the future of ministerial service in the church. Yet it is a point that has been almost totally ignored in lectures and writings by bishops and theologians up till now.

We have failed to recognize that our current crisis in ministry stems at least in part from the church's abandonment of Jesus' approach to ministry. In so many ways the post-New Testament church returned to the pre-Pharisaic days of Judaism, restoring levitical priesthood once again to the highest pedestal. This change began quite early in the church but we lack sufficient historical sources to pinpoint the exact reasons for this regressive process. One could theorize that it was at least partially due to the rapid gentilization of the church. This brought with it a certain amount of anti-Semitism that produced a hostility to Jewish forms. It also meant that the bulk of the church's members had little or no acquaintance with the profound changes in ministry introduced by the Pharisees. As Gentiles, the only religious patterns they knew were ones in which sacrifice was the chief religious expression and priests were the principal symbolic religious figures in the community. But whatever the original source of the movement back to levitical forms in the church, we see the transformation complete within the first centuries of the church. It is a situation that has persisted into our own time.

The great Catholic church historian Yves Congar has pinpointed the problem in these words: "Thus the first priestly act is the ministry of the Word. We have grown a bit forgetful of that fact. The Middle Ages understood our priesthood as founded in Aaron and therefore linked it to the cultic-ritualistic priesthood of the Old Testament; then it defined this very same priesthood by the power to celebrate the Eucharist. Next the French school of the seventeenth century (Berulle, Condren, Olier), which is the main source of the teaching given in seminaries and religious congregations, defined the priest as a religious and as an adorer of God. From all that there resulted a mainly cultic notion of the priesthood: we are priests to offer Mass. Is not that what the ordination ritual says?" ("Institutionalized Religion," in T. Patrick Burke, *The Word in History*. Sheed & Ward, 1966).

As an aside, I might say that to some extent this process has also affected Judaism, especially in North America. Readings from the book of Leviticus have been a central part of the ordination rites in the Catholic church for centuries as Fr. Congar has pointed out. Even in the renewed rite, though the heavy borrowing from Leviticus has been considerably reduced, the chief emphasis is still basically on the cultic priesthood. Granted there is some mention of the importance of Christian service, but all the principal symbols remain explicitly connected with liturgical worship. I honestly believe that all current discussions on the future shape of the priesthood will remain ultimately fruitless until we confront the basic fact that we have lost the fundamental

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spirit and purpose of ministry that was experienced in the life of Jesus and see clearly how it differs from cultic priesthood.

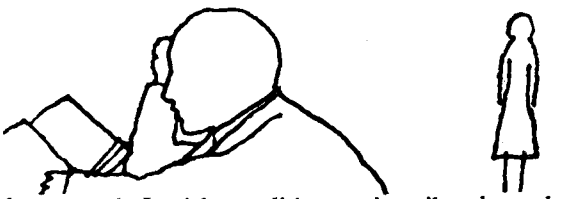
A re-emergence in the contemporary church of the New Testament approach to ordained ministry would seem to lead to some or all of the following conclusions:

(1) The principal ordination rite in the church would be one in which the church would accept and publicly acknowledge the commitment of men and women to a lifelong proclamation of the gospel and to the embodiment of that word in the lives of their fellow human beings and into the structures of society through concrete acts of justice and mercy. This rite would include appropriate symbols of a non-cultic nature. How precisely this ministry would be concretely performed is relatively unimportant. It might be as teacher, parish minister, lawyer, social worker, policeman, politician or in a hundred other ways. The basic operative principle would be to respond to human suffering and injustice in whatever form proves most effective. There could also be something called the liturgical ministry whose function would be to teach people how to worship and pray in a meaningful, creative and personal way as well as to devise forms of public worship and prayer. The introduction into the church of the office of ordained minister as distinct from ordained priest would bury once and for all the controversies about the hyphenated priest that have haunted us in the past.

There would also exist a second rite in the church, that of priestly ordination. It could be combined into a single ceremony with the rite of ministerial ordination, but the distinction between the two would remain clear. The sole purpose of this ordination would be to give selected members of the community the power to preside at the public worship services of the church, principally and most importantly the Eucharist. Its symbols would be cultic in nature and this rite would be similar to the present rite of ordination to the priesthood. In a period of transition many people ordained to ministerial service would also likely be ordained to priesthood. But it still remains vitally important in my mind to keep the two elements separated. The sole purpose of the Catholic priesthood would be cultic, and this would bring priesthood in Catholic circles back to the meaning the term has held for all other religious groups throughout the history of man—the person who offers worship in the name of the religious community.

The separation between ordained ministry and ordained priesthood would also make it possible to have in the church people who were ordained ministers but not priests as well as people who restricted their service in the church to the area of worship (probably family men and women on a part-time basis) but for one reason or another chose not to devote their lives to full-time public ministry. In point of fact there exist people in the present church falling into the former category, namely religious brothers, sisters and members of secular institutes. The distinction between ordained ministry and ordained priesthood I am suggesting would give their commitment a public recognition presently enjoyed only by those ordained to the priesthood. In this way the church would also return more closely to the pattern of ministry and priesthood developed by the Pharisees and adopted by Jesus.

A question would remain in my mind as to whether it would be necessary to have an officially designated priest preside at each and every Eucharistic celebration. My inclination is to say no, based again on an understanding of the liturgical and theological changes inaugurated by the Pharisaic revolution. For the Pharisees the father of the family or the head of a Pharisaic brotherhood presided at the ordinary Sabbath liturgy in the home. At the heart of this liturgical innovation was the theological notion of the Fatherhood of God. This notion



which entered Jewish tradition primarily through the Pharisees made them understand the relationship between each person and God in a new intimate way which eliminated the need for the intermediary role previously performed by the priest. Jesus probably took part at the Last Supper in the latter capacity and he certainly utilized the notion of God's Fatherhood in an extensive way in his teachings. The role of the levitical priesthood was reserved for more solemn, public acts of worship. I am not sure at the moment whether I stand ready to accept the idea of non-priestly figures presiding at certain liturgies in more intimate and familial settings. But for a person who has experienced the dignity and beauty of a Jewish Sabbath liturgy with the father presiding (and with the mother also having a special role) the possibility merits special and serious exploration.

(2) Seminaries would become schools in which people would be prepared primarily for the ordained ministry. This is in fact the direction in which nearly all seminaries are moving today. But ordination to ministerial service would be officially recognized as the principal goal. Programs leading to preparation for the ordained priesthood would also be part of the curriculum, but would not constitute the major emphasis in the seminary. A special course of studies with the emphasis on liturgy and experience in celebration would be available to those who simply wished to serve in the ordained priesthood without any commitment to ordained ministry. The seminary "graduation" could in fact be the rite of ordination to ministerial service with the diploma presented within the liturgical service.

All those desiring to serve the church in an official

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capacity would be required to complete an extensive program in professional ministry culminating in a degree. I emphasize this point to highlight a situation which could become a serious problem, one to which some of my students at the Catholic Theological Union have alerted me. A number of them have asked recently, and the question seems to me a very legitimate one, why they need to spend three full years before being ordained to the diaconate when laymen now can put in one or two evenings a week in training for only two years and be ordained to the same office. And the problem is even further complicated by the entrance of sisters and religious brothers into the active ministry. The parish at which I assist on Sundays now has a sister as a fulltime member of the parish team. She performs just about all the functions of the priest members of the team save for the strictly sacramental functions. Yet she has no degree or formal training in professional ministry. Either we are going to say that our present forms of ministerial training programs constitute a lot of excess baggage or, if we are going to insist that our four-year programs still have value, we will have to demand that everyone engaged full-time in ministry undergo the same type of program. In actual fact the distinction suggested above between ordained ministry and ordained priesthood would serve to remove this discrepancy (or at least bring it out into the open) as well as give official recognition to a movement towards professional ministry that has been going on in seminaries for several years.

(3) Finally, from the standpoint of full-time ordained ministry, I believe one can make a strong case for the value of celibacy, though certainly not as an absolute requirement. There is a real sense in which it could be called celibacy "for the kingdom of God." Its purpose would be to free the minister from the family responsibilities that cut into a minister's time and emotional resources. Granted that family responsibility can produce a certain maturity, and family life can be personally supportive in meeting the demands of ministry, yet the freedom that celibacy gives can lead to a thorough-going dedication to ministerial service that married men and women would find difficult. Few married men, to cite an extreme example, could take the road of the Berrigans.

I do not want to exaggerate the freedom and amount of extra time celibacy gives a person interested in ministry, but my conversations with married Protestant and Jewish ministers leave me with the distinct impression it can prove extremely useful if accepted and utilized in a mature fashion. If I may speak autobiographically for a moment, I know I could never involve myself in half my present activities if I had family responsibilities to which I had to attend on a regular basis. But we must also be realistic here. Even a celibate minister, perhaps I should say especially a celibate minister, needs a certain amount of emotional, day-to-day support. Here is where community life becomes important. Revitalized and restructured religious orders might still provide a much more effective basis for ministerial service than the rather isolated lifestyle that has been the pattern for most diocesan clergy up till now. In this regard, incidentally, the Pharisaic experience might again prove of some value. The Pharisees established brotherhoods or *hauvarot* as an integral part of the rabbinic system. Jesus and his apostles probably constituted such a brotherhood.

These then are some of the concrete implications of the understanding of ministry as developed during the Pharisaic revolution and the public life of Jesus. One need not agree with each and every point of my analysis. They are presented as tentative proposals open to refinement and amplification. But the core distinction between ordained ministry and ordained priesthood is a principle that I strongly feel must become operative in our day if we are to put ministry once again on a firm footing. It is not a new distinction but one that lies at the heart of the New Testament's conception of religion.

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JOHN UPDIKE

WIND

If God has any voice it is the wind.

Women hate
this seeking of a vacuum,
it gets their edges up,
they cannot sleep, they think
of Boreas impregnating primeval Night,
of skirts rudely lifted in funhouses.

It is death made loud:
nowhereness bellowing,
now reedy along the copper eaves,
now ballooned to a manifold softness by a tree,
now scraping like flint on the surface of water,
making arrowhead wrinkles,
seeking somewhere to stop and be.

Wind carves. It makes mesas
and heaps up waves as a rich man plays
with remote corporations that swallow and shift
poor fish by the thousand.
I lie here listening.

God is crying, *for-*
giiiive, demanding, *fore-*
go-ooo, proclaiming, *Oh*
wheerrre? and begging,
let go-oo-oh.

In its mouth my body tastes like stale milk.

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THE SCREEN

"Nothing can please many, and please long, but just representations of general nature. . . . Shakespeare is, above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature, the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpracticed by the rest of the world; by the peculiarities of studies or professions which can operate but upon small numbers; or by the accidents of transient fashions or temporary opinions: they are the genuine progeny of common humanity, such as the world will always supply, and observation will always find. His persons act and speak by the influence of those general passions and principles by which all minds are agitated and the whole system of life is continued in motion. In the writings of other poets a character is too often an individual; in those of Shakespeare it is commonly a species."

Thus Samuel Johnson in 1765. In the most recent Peter Brook productions of Shakespeare, Dr. Johnson's words have been taken to heart. About a year ago Brook's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* arrived on Broadway with minimal property and wardrobe trunks. During the nineteenth century this play had been especially hard hit by a tendency to turn Shakespeare's festive comedies into circuses. One Victorian production even included a troupe of dancing monkeys, and the play had never freed itself entirely from such encumbrances —until Brook staged it. His set consisted of three white walls, and the costumes on the principals were long, equally austere robes. The quality of the play that he wanted to reveal through his staging is the same one that Dr. Johnson was getting at: the largeness of Shakespeare's characters, their abstraction from what is superfluous or historically limited. Brook was trying to abstract the play from its setting and dispense with "the accidents of transient fashions or temporary opinions."

King Lear, the other recent Brook production of Shakespeare, tries to do something comparable. Since this is a film, Brook can't do the same thing he did in a theater: he must find cinematic equivalents for his ideas. But his purpose is again to abstract the play from any particular time and space. He accomplishes this by choosing for his shooting locations a tundra so desolate, frozen and featureless that the place becomes itself rather than England or Lapland or wherever it actually was. To heighten our sense of a timelessly severe landscape, Brook also seems to have shot most of his film during the same overcast, twilight hour (or season). Against this invariable background he has filmed the play on a black and white stock whose print—perhaps because of the low available light—appears to be slightly washed-out or overexposed. This gives the film a monotone that makes the locations look bleaker still.

Although there are many scenes inside buildings, Brook lights these much as the exteriors are lit, and even the interiors of castles are primeval and barren like the out-of-doors. Man's dwelling places here become the mere extension of a landscape from which they are barely distinguishable. But the out-of-doors itself is the most important set. The first sound we hear is the slamming shut of the door to Lear's throne room. It is a somewhat ironical sound, for while it closes in the participants in Lear's ritual of praise, it is also locking Lear out of his own kingdom. This is a play about a man who made himself an outsider—a man who literally turned himself out of house and home, a man who put himself on the outs with those who loved and honored him most. Important scenes occur out-of-doors in this more than in any other Shakespeare tragedy.

This is what Brook's direction attempts to exploit cinematically, and what he emphasizes even in the moot scenes that filmmaking requires him to invent as connectives between Shakespeare's scenes. In several of these, for instance, formations of clouds roil overhead as small bands of men trickle across the impassive, rigid countryside. Except for the contrast between fixity and motion, land and sky reflect each other perfectly: they are equally gray, rugged and comfortless. Caught between this heaven and earth, man becomes but such a poor, bare, forked animal as Lear says he is.

Like the scenery, Brook's camera work is also calculated to isolate and abstract Shakespeare's characters. The crucial moments in the play are shot in close-ups so extreme that they sometimes include only one feature of an actor's face. And Brook often frames these shots asymmetrically, leaving three quarters of the screen blank while the remainder is filled by speaking lips or a searching eye. (Such unbalanced composition is typical of high-fashion still photography, where it is designed to make the viewer react and, thus, become involved with the subject. It's too trendy to fit a Johnsonian aesthetic, but Brook makes it look right anyway.) The effect of the close-ups is to enlarge Shakespeare's characters—to make them larger than life, large enough to be whole species rather than individuals. Moreover, besides being suited to Brook's conception of the play, these close-ups lend themselves to Paul Scofield's conception of Lear. In the frequent scenes where Lear clashes with other people, such as his daughters, Brook places the players virtually nose to nose. Not needing to project as he would on a stage, Scofield then hisses all his lines. This allows him to make his voice older than he could otherwise, and to make Lear's frustration and rage more intense.

There is a certain paradox in Brook's film, for his locations are not themselves abstract as his set for *A Mid-*

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summer Night's Dream was. On the contrary, the landscape in which he sets *King Lear* is completely naturalistic, and his insight is seeing how such a landscape might serve his artifice. Like Shakespeare's villains and tragic heroes, Brook's landscape can be generalized in our minds because it has so definite and specific a character. His locations for the film are in effect one location. The entire play is acted out on an ice-bound heath—a heath whose very paragon might be the one on which Lear raves in the third act. Yet when Brook comes to the heath scene itself, he is not satisfied. He feels he must dislocate us further.

To do this he introduces visual effects and montage as bold as his camera work. He films Scofield through a laminated lens that fractures and stratifies his form, giving him an almost Cubist appearance. Brook also cuts back and forth rapidly between Lear and the storm. And when Lear enters the hovel, Brook cuts in footage of dead rats with their claws curled like Lear's befouled, clutching hands. But these shots go too far. They indulge in the sort of modishness that Brook elsewhere avoids: they are themselves a mixed metaphor that vies for our attention with Shakespeare's own metaphors. As a result I found that, although the lines on the heath were spoken plainly, I often had to close my eyes to hear them.

While these excesses mar Brook's achievement, however, they do not undo it. The filming of Shakespeare is an uncertain business, and its history contains more failures than successes. Brook's attempt to do *Lear* ranks with Olivier's *Henry V*. The look and lighting of the terrain Brook has chosen for his film are as original, and suitable, as the fanciful backdrops Olivier used in *Henry V*.

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ROOTS OF THE COLD WAR

From FDR to LBJ

RICHARD H. MILLER

IN 1945 THE global holocaust so glibly mislabeled World War II came to an end, punctuated at the finale by the traumatic entry into the atomic age. The havoc wrought was almost immeasurable; some estimates place the human toll at more than 56 million dead, more than half of them noncombatant civilians. In Europe the area between the Rhine and the Volga had become a vast charnel house. More than 20 million Russians were killed; the dead in Poland numbered 15 percent of the prewar population. European Jewry was decimated; the prewar estimate of 9.2 million was reduced to less than 3.8 million at war's end. The Jews in Poland were virtually exterminated. Between 1939 and 1947 an additional 18 million Europeans were permanently removed from their homelands to other parts of the continent.

The devastation of physical property was of similar proportions. In the Soviet Union some two thousand cities and towns and more than 70 thousand villages were wholly or substantially destroyed. In the areas invaded by the Germans more than two-thirds of the industrial installations were in ruins, and more than 40 thousand miles of rail tracks had been destroyed. Russian agricultural production in 1945 was less than half the 1940 yield.

By comparison the war scarcely touched America. The number of killed and missing in action was approximately 315 thousand. Physically, the war had left untouched the 48 states, save for a few shells lobbed ashore near Santa Barbara by a Japanese submarine in early 1942. Fiscally, the war effected an economic revolution. The index of industrial production doubled, while the Gross National Product (based on the 1939 dollar valuation) increased from 91 to 166 billion dollars. The American share of the world's merchant marine in 1939 had been 17 percent as opposed to the 63 percent of Europe; by 1945 the United States had more ships afloat than the rest of the world combined. Through Lend-Lease the United States had again reduced its Allies to economic subjugation. The British had received $31.4 billion in aid, while more than $11.3 billions had gone to the Russians.

And then there was the atom bomb. . . .

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Too many historians, including some of those under review, still consider the Yalta Conference as the chronological inauguration of the Cold War era. In reality, the confrontation between Russia and the West, as DeTocqueville correctly foresaw, had deep historical roots, some even antedating the Bolshevik Revolution. Lenin's success, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the "allied" military intervention in Russia, the Soviet exclusion from the Versailles Peace Conference, the rather belated recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the United States, the travesty of Munich and the Soviet revenge in the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact all served to exacerbate the situation. The wartime alliance engendered by the Nazi invasion of Russia and Pearl Harbor was always a tenuous one at best, held together solely by the struggle against the common foe. The West initially held the diplomatic trumps, but the Russian victory at Stalingrad, the Anglo-American failure to launch a "Second Front" on the European mainland north of the Alps in either 1942 or 1943, and the exclusion of Russia in the formulation of the Unconditional Surrender policy and its virtual abrogation in the fiasco of the Italian surrender, all strengthened the Soviet bargaining position in the subsequent affairs of Europe, when the Red Army reinforced the *Realpolitik* principle that might makes right in the forging of spheres of influence.

And then there was the atom bomb. . . .

By 1945 a combination of Franklin Roosevelt's conscious policy of sustained postponement on controversial issues, the limitations of his own ego and worsening health all caught up with him at a most unpropitious moment in history. Unlike his hero, Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt was not obsessed with a final peace settlement. His principal aim was to maximize the Soviet contribution to the Allied war effort. A firm believer in the power of his personal charisma, Roosevelt had informed Churchill as early as March of 1942 that: "I know you will not mind my being frank when I tell you that I think I can personally handle Stalin better than either your Foreign Office or my State Department. Stalin hates the guts of all your top people. He thinks he likes me better, and I hope he will continue to do so." Roosevelt had never met Stalin at this juncture. He was to talk with Uncle Joe twice; at Teheran in November of 1943 and at Yalta in February of 1945.

It was in the context of these power realities that the Cold War evolved and was institutionalized as a way of life for successive postwar generations. The obstacles to objectivity posed by the lack of access to virtually all Soviet and much American archival documents have not deterred historians of the period from casting blame and aspersions in all directions. The Soviet version has been conditioned almost exclusively by ideological considerations, but in the America of 1945-1960 chauvinism was a paramount factor in assessing American motives and actions vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. It was in this period that the "tough-minded liberal" consensus was formed, consisting mainly of historians and political scientists who had ready access to the corridors of power by virtue of family connections or service in the presidential bureaucracy. With slight variations on the theme, these writers shared the common assumption that the Cold War was a direct consequence of Stalin's efforts, paranoic or otherwise, to fill in the power void created by the German and Japanese defeats in Eurasia. In their view the U.S. response was one of considered self-restraint until 1947, when the American people were awakened by heroic leaders to the imminent danger of the situation. A diplomatic counter-offensive was mounted, symbolized by the containment theory, and manifested through the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and NATO. Even Herbert Feis, perhaps the most honest of the court historians, subscribed to this belief in *Between War and Peace: The Potsdam Conference*, when he wrote that "the western allies were standing out against both Soviet expansionism and communist social ideals." A major figure of the period, W. Averell Harriman, was still of the belief in 1971, expressed through his faithful scribe, Mark Chadwin, that "we did have a fairly glorious period, perhaps the most creative period in American foreign policy, immediately after the war."

Conversely, the "revisionists" (a misnomer usually applied to anyone, Left or Right, who disagrees with the prevailing consensus) are much more accusatory in their historical judgments. Those on the Right, from John Foster Dulles to William F. Buckley, Jr. have charged American foreign policy makers with "crimes" ranging from stupidity to appeasement to outright treason in compromising America's power position in the postwar world. Those on the Left have been most influenced by the writings of William A. Williams and, to a lesser extent, D. F. Fleming's *The Cold War and Its Origins* and Walter Lippmann's *The Cold War*. In *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* Williams argued that the root causes of the Cold War were inherent in the conscious American attempt to globalize the Open Door policy by establishing "the conditions under which predominant American economic power would extend the American system throughout the world without the embarrassment and inefficiency of traditional colonialism. The revisionists view Stalin's postwar foreign policy as somewhat conservative, based more on economic straits and national security needs than choleric ideological propaganda. They also question the sincerity of American motives and condemn hard-liners on both sides such as Truman, James F. Byrnes, Dean Acheson and V. M. Molotov.

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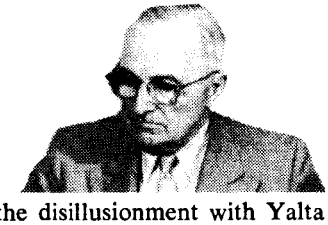
The books cited above, all published within the past year, span the spectrum from hard-core "true believers" such as Walt W. Rostow to rank revisionism based more on faith than facts as expressed in some of the essays in the Paterson book. They represent a fair sampling of the latest thinking in the respective camps.

There is little doubt that Yalta was a watershed in Russian-American relations, for it was there that Roosevelt was finally forced to confront the diplomatic impact of Russian military successes. As James MacGregor Burns emphasizes in his Pulitzer Prize biography of F. D. R., Yalta was something of an anti-climax. The Red Army had already made Eastern Europe a Soviet sphere of influence, and no amount of diplomatic bargaining was going to undo that fact. Roosevelt had thrown away any chance of a viable Polish settlement at Teheran when he postponed discussion of the issue for fear of antagonizing the Polish vote at home in the 1944 presidential election. For Burns this was just one more dreary step down the road to diplomatic chaos, which had begun with the appointment of Admiral Darlan as the first in a succession of American Quislings. What Burns does not emphasize strongly enough is that Churchill's influence was on the wane by February of 1945. As early as September of 1944 he had confessed to Lord Moran: "I have a very strong feeling that my work is done. I have no message, I had a message. Now I only say 'fight the damned socialists.' I do not believe in this brave new world." And so the fate of the postwar world was decided by a moribund pragmatist, a clinically certifiable madman and a Kiplingesque ruin—not a very promising parlay for peace.

Whereas Burns' focus is on personalities, Mrs. Clemens' is on issues. Hers is the first Western study to make extensive use of the Russian documents for the period. The result is a strong case for the hypothesis that Yalta was a pre-ordained failure because of the divergent aims of the Big Three. Although Churchill argued in *Triumph and Tragedy* that "Poland had indeed been the most urgent reason for the Yalta Conference," the Russians considered that question already settled by the conquering Red Army and the past and present Anglo-American perfidy in Italy, first in placing Badoglio in power, and then approving Allen Dulles' secret and separate surrender talks with the German commanders in that theater of operations. Accordingly, Molotov put the German question first on the agenda, because he rightly feared Germany as the principal threat to the future peace of Europe. As Clemens clearly shows, Roosevelt, unlike Churchill, stood ready to ally with Stalin against the possibility of some future German revival. But the State Department disagreed, placing a much higher priority on the successful formation of the U.N. as the crucial issue of the conference. And the State Department outlived Roosevelt.

The Soviet documents also indicate



that the disillusionment with Yalta was decidedly mutual, especially on the issues of Poland and German reparations. Each side subsequently accused the other of bad faith, but Clemens argues that the Russian claims in this instance were more justified: "the Soviet Union had every reason to assume that American support at the Yalta Conference *did* mean the Americans agreed that the Russians should receive a specific amount of reparations because of her sufferings." For her, Soviet "stubbornness" and "obstructionism" can be argued only if one accepts the hypothesis that "the Soviet Union ought to have accepted as just and superior any proposal which differed from the Soviet position."

Such a hypothesis is a firm belief for W. Averell Harriman, America's most experienced negotiator with the Soviets and the self-proclaimed "most earnest advocate of the closest possible understanding with the Soviet Union." In a rambling reminiscence based in part on his Blaustein Lectures at Lehigh University, Harriman "can't imagine why Stalin went to such extreme lengths in breaking the Yalta agreements." A tongue of fire must have immediately descended, for he quickly supplies an answer: "I believe that Stalin hoped to get to the Atlantic, and that was perhaps the reason why he didn't carry out the Yalta agreements. The prospects for Communist takeover simply looked too good." And didn't Stalin reveal his true intentions at Potsdam by lamenting to Harriman that "Czar Alexander got to Paris," to which Harriman now coyly responds: "it didn't need much of a clairvoyant to guess what was on his mind."

But Harriman is less than candid in explaining his role in the formulation of the American hard-line policies of 1945. Even before Roosevelt's death he had proposed that unless the United States were prepared "to live in a world dominated largely by Soviet influence, we must use our economic power to assist those countries that are naturally friendly to our concepts." Accordingly, he recommended "tying our economic assistance directly into our political problems with the Soviet Union."

Now that the criticism of the Truman policies is intensifying, Harriman seems to be seeking his own version of personal disengagement: Truman was "very humble" at first, but changed as time progressed; in the confrontation with Molotov on 23 April 1945 Truman "perhaps too bluntly" pressed the American demand for Russian compliance on the Yalta agreements. Perhaps this to be expected from the man who, as Governor of New York went to the Democratic Convention in 1956 hoping to replace Adlai Stevenson as the party's nominee for President on the charge that Stevenson was soft on Communism.

In his latest book Herbert Feis has few qualms or qualifications in his assessment of American policy leadership in 1945. Truman "mistook rapidity of decision for firmness" and "sometimes did not know what he did not know." Moreover, he consciously lied to the public; e.g., in disclaiming prior

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knowledge of Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech, even though he had read and endorsed a copy of the final draft during the train trip to Fulton. Truman's "greatest living American" is pilloried in similar fashion: "He (H. S. T.) liked Marshall's curt decisiveness . . . few thought the less of him because he had fumbled before Pearl Harbor, because he had approved the unworkable set-up for Germany, and because he had failed in China. He stood in public eyes for controlled strength, just spirit, and solidierly uprightness."

As in his previous works Feis totally ignores any reference to the efforts of the revisionists, in text, footnotes and bibliography. But there is little doubt that their arguments have had an influence on his thinking in the past five years. However, he still maintains that it would have been better in the long run for America "to risk an open break with Stalin at Yalta," rather than allow events to slide beyond the point of responsible rapprochement. For him the Cold War cleavage was finalized in Secretary of State James F. Byrnes' speech at Stuttgart on 6 September 1946, when the United States opted for alliance with a defeated and divided Germany rather than the Soviets, for "fear that the Communist courtship might win over the Germans. It was a triumph," continues Feis, "over the feeling that it was just that all Germans should continue to suffer punishment for their evil acts during the years in which they had hailed and served Hitler." In short, Feis feels that any government that could so easily forgive the Nazis was capable of almost anything. And it was.

The collections of essays in the Bernstein and Paterson books ought to be read in tandem, for they represent the latest, and some of the best, scholarship by revisionist historians. Bernstein's essay on "American Foreign Policy and the Origins of the Cold War" is a superb synopsis of that revisionist critique which emphasizes ideological and political rather than economic considerations as the principal motivating factors in the forging of Truman's hard-line policies. For Bernstein, the Truman of 1945-1947 was little different from the Missouri Senator who, in July of 1941, had advocated that "if we see that Germany is winning the war we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and in that way kill as many as possible." He goes beyond Gar Alperovitz in accepting the atomic blackmail thesis: "At minimum, then, the use of the bomb reveals the moral insensitivity of the President—whether he used it because the moral implications did not compel a re-examination of assumptions, or because he sought retribution, or because he sought to keep Russia out of Manchuria and the occupation government of Japan, and to make her more manageable in Eastern Europe." A bit drastic at first glance, but even Feis in recent years has changed his thinking on the subject; he now admits that the bomb may have been used in part "to monitor" Soviet conduct.

Bernstein also makes an extended argument for the hypothesis that Russian foreign policy in the immediate postwar period was cautionary conservative and sought accommodation, but there was a drastic change in U.S. policies following the death of Roosevelt. The result was the advent of the "roll-back" philosophy, Kennanism, and the militarization of containment as a response to aggressive Soviet expansion. But Kennan was later to admit that in 1947 "it was perfectly clear to anyone with even a rudimentary knowledge of the Russia of that day that the Soviet leaders had no intention of attempting to advance their cause by launching military attacks with their own armed forces across frontiers." Even Robert Taft was able to perceive this reality. In a Senate speech of 12 March 1948, following the Czech coup, he argued that he knew of "no indication of Russian intention to undertake military aggression beyond the sphere of influence which was originally assigned to them. The situation in Czechoslova was indeed a tragic one, but Russian influence has predominated there since the end of the war."

In an earlier essay, "The Abortive American Loan to Russia and the Origins of the Cold War" (*Journal of American History*, LVI [June, 1969], 70-92) Thomas Paterson had carefully delineated the history of the Russian loan request first proposed in January of 1944. He concluded that the American use of the loan as "a diplomatic weapon before negotiations began rather than as a diplomatic tool at the conference table" heightened already exaggerated Russian fears of further mistreatment at the hands of American economic overlords. These fears were confirmed by the $3 billion loan to the British at less than 2 percent interest while the Russian request remained "lost" in the bowels of Foggy Bottom. Paterson's sequel essay in the Bernstein book is a scathing indictment of American economic policies in the postwar period, ranging from the conscious abuse of the G.A.T.T. arrangements to a withering blast on the motivations underlying the Marshall Plan. Paterson contends that "the plan was presented in such a way that the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries could not participate." Feis disagrees, arguing that Molotov, "in a jealous rage," broke off the negotiations at Paris concerning Russian participation because "the U.S. could offer what the Soviet Union could not." However, he now thinks that the rejection of the Russian loan request "may have been unwise. For it may have seemed to confirm Communist belief that the U.S. did not care about the suffering of the Russian people." And the times, they are a-changin'. . . .

The essays in Paterson's book are not as sharply focused as those in Bernstein's collection, perhaps because they deal more with individuals than issues. Paterson's introduction clearly demonstrates the limits and imperfections of any dissent which lacks an adequate power base. Walter Lippmann was not the Secretary of State, Claude Pepper was not the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Henry Wallace never had a chance of becoming President. At least not with the likes of Clark Clifford advising Truman as early as 19 November 1947 that "every effort must be made *now* jointly and at one and the

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same time—although of course by different groups—to dissuade and also to identify him [Wallace] and isolate him in the public mind with the Communists." By 1950 Henry had repented; he even endorsed military intervention in Korea.

Bernstein's essay on Walter Lippmann illustrates the contradictions inherent in Lippmann's professed rejection of Wilsonian diplomatic goals, but he rightly acknowledges Lippmann's prescience in recognizing the scope of the Soviet *fait accompli* in Eastern Europe and the limitations of American military power to effect a redress of the situation there.

Norman Kaner's analysis of I. F. Stone as the Cassandra of the Cold War speaks volumes about the failure of postwar American journalism in reporting the facts to the people. Unfortunately, it took the travesty of Vietnam to earn Stone the recognition he has so long deserved as journalism's chief dissector of political prevarication emanating from the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department.

Mark Solomon's essay on "Black Critics of Colonialism and the Cold War" indicates that significant portions of the black journalistic community were much more aware of the perils of imperial over-involvement than their caucasian conferes. But who in White America read black papers such as the *Pittsburgh Courier,* or even knew of their existence in the late '40s?

Finally, there is Rostow's self-described "tract for the times." A supposed sequel to *The Stages of Economic Growth,* this book is strictly *sui generis.* It is beyond consensus—in fact, it is virtually beyond belief. But it ought to be read, even by the Left, because he may very well be the Alfred Rosenberg of our time. Jabberwocky and jargon aside, this is history through a Skinner Box, with Rostow cast as Mr. Frazier. His analysis of American history as a prelude to a "proper understanding" of America's role in the Cold War defies description. Hopefully, a few examples will suffice to indicate the man's unique powers of rationalization: ". . . the glory of America has not been its relative material wealth but the sense of the transcendent political mission in reconciling liberty and order." But applied to the Mexican War the above concept is interpreted thusly: "Americans in the 1840s were not unique in seeking to redraw the arbitrary lines on maps, inherited from a colonial past they did not make. . . . A stronger Mexican government with a larger perspective might have found a way to accede [to the surrender of Texas and California] without war."

Little wonder that Porfirio Diaz, a future President of Mexico, was later to lament: "Poor Mexico! So far from God—and so close to the United States!"

Discussing events a half-century later, before and after the Spanish-American War, Rostow writes: "the nation confronted and openly wrestled with the problem of reconciling its new ambition and responsibility with its abiding commitment to the principle of national self-determination." One wonders if the

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Cubans, the Puerto Ricans, the Filipinos, the Samoans and the Hawaiians saw it that way.

When the concept is transposed to the Cold War period, the rubrics are even more enthralling. Now it is "waves of Soviet expansionist enterprise;" "American strength and will were obviously critical to how far Russian power could be extended;" and "Stalin, frustrated to the West, turned in classic Russian style to Eastern adventures in 1947." The Cold War in Asia achieves new dimensions in his analysis of Vietnam. The budget allocation for the war itself is labeled "Special Southeast Asia support." Then there is this Actonian pearl: "I agree that the war in Vietnam is anachronistic, but the anachronism lies in the old-fashioned dream of Ho and his successors, rooted in memories and experience that go back to the Second World War—and even to the 1920s—that they have the right and duty to succeed to the French colonial empire in Asia." If so, then what about the Founding Fathers, Polk, McKinley, Wilson, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson et al.—or do Rostow's Rules exempt Caucasian non-Marxist 'democrats'?

Perhaps sensing that he may not have fully commandeered the reader's allegiance, Rostow has one last resort: "Honor, patriotism, chivalry and duty may have different meanings now than they once did in this post-nationalistic world. . . . But without them the prospects for all of us are dim." Applied to Rostow, one recalls what Samnel Johnson said about patriotism, what Jim Fisk said about honor, what Groucho Marx said about chivalry—and what Adolf Eichmann said about duty. . . .

The transposition of the Truman Doctrine to Asia with the advent of the Korean War traumatically transformed the nature as well as the perimeters of the Cold War. Even though containment was denounced by name in the 1952 G.O.P. platform as "a futile and immoral policy . . . which abandons countless human beings to . . . despotism and godless terrorism," the author of that deathless prose, John Foster Dulles, soon resuscitated the concept and gave it new meaning in the form of intervention in Vietnam, Guatemala and Lebanon. And his successors have given us the Bay of Pigs, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand—along with more than a half-million American dead, wounded and addicted, and countless millions of nameless foreigners who have received the final blessing of freedom through the muzzle of an M-16 or the bomb bay doors of a B-52. We have tried to make the world safe for America by becoming the Titan of Counter-Revolution. Fearing radicalism in any form we have joined the Russians in promoting tyrants abroad and the tyranny of docile conformity at home. The Bundy and Rostow brothers remain in positions of power and prestige, while the Berrigan brothers remain in jail. This is what the Cold War has done to the American character.

Five years ago Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. argued that it was time to "blow the whistle" on the Cold War revisionists. Since then even he has undergone "an agonizing reappraisal of conscience." One wonders if he is the same man who once wrote *The Vital Center*. In the wake of the new revisionist arguments, many of which are of substantive import, even centrist historians such as Feis, Robert A. Divine and Stephen Ambrose are re-assessing previously held positions. But the conversion rate is glacial. The revisionists, too, have erred, especially in their overemphasis on economic factors, some of which are not provable at the present time, and in their constant refrain that things would have been different if F.D.R. had lived.

But would they? As late as 24 March 1945 he was telling Anna Rosenberg [Hoffman]: "Averell [Harriman] is right; we can't do business with Stalin. He has broken every one of the promises he made at Yalta." However, Burns reminds us that Roosevelt's commitment to anti-colonialism was a "near-obsession." As early as Teheran he was stressing "the need" to prepare Indochina for independence from the French.

If. . . . But history is neither lived nor written in the subjunctive, either by the cult of consensus or by the revisionists, one describing a world that never was, the other despising a world that shouldn't have been. Somewhere in between lies the truth of these past realities, the essence of which, if not soon perceived and acted upon, may soon be the death of us all, for we will have proved Santayana correct.

BOOKS

Bye-bye, Aunt Jemima

The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman

ERNEST J. GAINES

Dial, $6.95

CARL SENNA

I hesitate to criticize *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* on the grounds that it is excellent non-fiction. But I'm afraid that it does not really seem intended to edify one's imagination. It seems, on the contrary, to be preparing us for fiction that has not yet been written; and thus its real purpose is to inform us. Perhaps that is the compelling reason why it must be read.

This is a moving tale that will crush out any credibility that Aunt Jemima may still have. Through Miss Jane, the narrator, we see that the crude inventions of Faulkner and Stowe, the Topsies and rigid mammies, were all along nothing but caricatures;

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yet, as her tale unfolds, Miss Jane aims not to challenge the past so much as to show its complexity. Her life—or, better, her memory—takes us through the humiliating lives of black women from slavery to the South of civil-rights demonstrations.

But Gaines succeeds too well; we are never convinced that we are reading fiction. The feeling that Miss Jane conveys is quite authentic; but, as they say, it is too much. Clever as she is, her dramatic confession gradually becomes too predictable; as we wait for the inevitable tragedy and tears, our interest begins to waver. Worse, we know how the story will end—how she dies—in the beginning. But all this aside, Mr. Gaines has done an admirable job in stretching the art of the narrative to its readable limits. At times, despite the gathering inertia of her monotone, Miss Jane holds us spellbound by her brilliant intuitions.

Miss Jane was born, sometime, in the delta region of Louisiana; her home is a large plantation in the antebellum South. When she begins her story, the plantation has just been liberated by Yankee troops. Learning that they are free, the slaves make a collective decision to migrate North. The Civil War is almost over then; but already nascent bands of Ku Klux Klansmen have formed to keep the "niggers" in line. About ten years old when this occurs, Miss Jane makes her first act of freedom by discarding her slave name of Ticey. In its place she adopts Jane, the nickname given to her by a Yankee soldier. In the vague hope of finding her Yankee friend, she sets out for Ohio. On the way she and another child become witness to a brutal slaughter of the other slaves; and suddenly they find themselves, the sole survivors, lost and surrounded by murderous racists. Much later Miss Jane discovers that they have never left Louisiana but have been traveling in a circular path. She painfully relinquishes her desire to go North.

During her travels Miss Jane meets some memorable characters. The Faulkner-like old white who befriends her and little Ned is a brilliant creature, an unmistakable and familiar type whom Mr. Gaines has introduced for the first time. Many Southerners, particularly blacks, know such persons; they still exist today. Detached often querulous and anti-social, they have silently undermined racism with suicidal persistence, imagination and inspiring courage.

The saddest events in Miss Jane's life occur long after slavery. A superstitious impulse causes her to precipitate her husband's death. Later she must patiently endure the murder of her adopted ward, Ned. In the meantime she is a constant witness to the frequent reversals in black progress. The pendulum swings back and forth, as gains in education are stopped short by the murder of a teacher and the arson of a school.

Through all this Miss Jane endures. Rarely is she shaken by the horror around her. Her experiences with racism are deliberately understated; the facts and her dispassionate voice are enough emphasis. In that way she is removed from the picture that she is trying to create; she seldom cries. Really it is the story of others; what Miss Jane feels is incidental. But not surprisingly her memories are most vivid when they are sad. We have not known the suffering of the Creole people until we have seen them through Miss Jane's eyes. The interracial brothers, Tee Bob and Timmy, bear a striking resemblance to characters in Jean Toomer's *Cane*; and the tragic love affair between the beautiful Creole, the idealistic Mary Agnes LeFabre, and Tee Bob (who is white) will touch even the most jaded sensibility. As characters, they have a complexity that transcends the familiar passions of racial obsession; they have uniquely Southern psychology.

The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman has completed the foundation for a revival in Southern fiction. For his part, Mr. Gaines owes an enormous debt to Faulkner, Toomer, Warren, Ellison, Wright and others. I hope time will see Mr. Gaines used to a similar extent.

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Oxford University Press, $7.95

MARTIN E. MARTY

Protestants came to what is now the United States to set up shop as colonists, immigrants, citizens, and church-goers. Most of the earlier ones were white migrants from the British Isles. Having established themselves, they went to work to forge identities and, acting as Protestants are wont to do, to define and justify a mission to America and then to all the world.

According to Robert Handy, their intention can best be summarized as having to do with the goal of forming a "Christian America," developing a distinctive civilization. So taken for granted did that goal become that at first reading one may have some difficulty understanding why Handy should make a point of it at all. Yet a second reading and some second thoughts suggest how astonishing the concept was.

America was being shaped well along in the history of the process we now call 'secularization.' Perhaps most of its founders did not come for explicitly or profoundly religious reasons. It might have been possible for them simply to drift away from church life, as the vast majority of the colonists had done by the time of the Revolution, and let matters stand at that. Or it might have been possible for a large minority of them to have returned to church participation, as they did early in the nineteenth century, and produce ecclesiastical isolation. After all, not a few evangelicals were busy developing theologies which enjoined a separation between private religion and the public sphere. Yet they busy-bodily involved themselves with virtually every detail of national life and contributed elements to the American laws, moral pattern, ethos, and habits that possibly may not be eradicated for centuries to come.

At the same time, as Handy demonstrates rather convincingly, the character of the Protestant hopes have been changed by historical realities. Evangelical American Christians lost nerve and verve; they were torn from within by disputes over the shape their Christian civilization should take. They were exposed to the world as moral posturers and eventually as failures for their own ambiguous record on the matters of race, peace, social justice. Their expressive life (literature and the arts) was often banal, unable to compete with autonomous, non-Protestant styles.

More important, they were overwhelmed by immigrants from the Continent; these were Jewish, Orthodox, Roman Catholic—and 'other' Protestants. The continental Protestants, numbering in the millions, shared enough Protestant assumptions to cause them to be welcomed nominally. But they also wavered and deviated on the matter of ethos. They drank beer, well into the era of pro-temperance agitation; they played games on Sunday while their Anglo counterparts were crusading to retain sabbatarian practices of church-going and home-sitting.

Whatever the causes, and while so many elements of the old Anglo-Protestant remain durable, the idea of a Christian civilization in America has been altered beyond recognition. Today it shows up largely in generalized, only semi-Protestant forms, as in agitation for Supreme Court Prayer Amendments or in semi-Christian patterns, as in the religion-plus-nationalism mix of the White House East Room. If anyone does not think that the old heart has gone out of the project in those two approaches, he really has to read Handy to learn about the explicit terms in which the Protestant empire was to have been set up.

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REVIEWERS

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MARTIN E. MARTY is the author of *Righteous Empire* (Dial).

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Handy acknowledges that he is working in the company of historians of the WASP lineage (Ahlstrom, Brauer, Clebsch, Gaustad, Hudson, Marty, Mead, Niebuhr, Smith, Sweet —the catalog is methodically alphabetized; anything Handy sets his hand to is methodically treated), and the little club of people familiar with the work of this company will find himself or herself wondering at times just what was new or necessary about Handy's contribution. But he has "singled out and examined a key concept that has not yet received sufficient attention."

How shall we locate that concept? For me the heart of the book appears in a chapter in which the author seems to narrow the Protestant vision considerably: "A Concept and Its Consequences: Anglo-Saxonism." Instead of narrowing it, however, Handy has broadened the scope of his work and come close to isolating much of what was behind the whole attempt to found and preserve a Protestant-Christian preserve. This, then, is a history of white-Anglosaxonism, a story of people who wanted to find an identity and mission in a world of flux and who did so more on ethnic and racial terms than most of them knew or than most of their historians cared to chronicle.

Handy has combed the sources, and his book is studded with previously-overlooked examples and quotations that will certainly be pirated by others who work with the concept. He is alert to the distinctive contributions of black Protestants; if they are not at the center of the story this is not through the result of Handy's neglect but as a part of conscious choice: he knows how the white Protestant forefathers successfully segregated the blacks and did what they could to prevent them from "having a history" in the civilization the whites were trying to set up.

What Handy has succeeded in doing in a book that could otherwise be dismissed as "the same old stuff" is to look at it in some new ways and to demonstrate that the old American majority is now a minority among minorities. Before long, in a world of new self-consciousness on the part of blacks, Amerindians, Chicanos, 'white ethnics,' Orientals, and almost every other ex-minority, the old WASPS will convince themselves and others that they are not the stable base against which other ethnic-religious groups can pose themselves. They will be "just another old minority." When that day comes, and Handy hastens its realization for a sophisticated few at least, it will add one more problem to the quest for identity among the *other* old minorities.

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the entire range of difficult contemporary issues."

The Vietnam war has been for me one of those issues. I finally came to support it because of the setback it was giving to Communism in Southeast Asia (notably Indonesia) but now mostly because of the dogmatism and naiveté of those who oppose it. I thoroughly agree with L. James Binder in the *New York Times* (Nov. 30): "The contention that the war is immoral is widely accepted as fact and anyone who says otherwise these days can be expected to be laughed down as a relic of another age. But, while the war may be many things, it is not immoral. It may even turn out to be one of the most moral conflicts in history because of our reasons for becoming involved . . . and the fact that three Presidents have repeatedly reaffirmed our commitment in the face of enormous opposition."

(REV.) VINCENT A. BROWN

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Our printer misnumbered *Commonweal's* January 7 issue; it should have been number 14. There was no December 31 issue.

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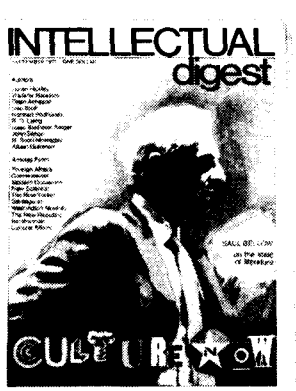

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